Vol. VII. No. 1.
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY, ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1919

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

"From Prison to the People"

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

Indiana Presidential Suffrage Bill Passes

THE State Senate of Indiana passed the Beardsley woman suffrage amendment, 44 to 3 on February 5. This bill confers presidential suffrage on women. A presidential suffrage bill was passed by a previous Indiana legislature but held unconstitutional by the court. The present bill endeavors to meet the legal objections found in the first measure. Having passed the House of the legislature it requires now only the signature of the governor.

A New Bill Against Child Labor

SENATE opponents of Child Labor whose efforts were temporarily frustrated by the act of the Supreme Court in declaring the Federal Anti-Child Labor Law in 1916 unconstitutional, have secured the approval of the Senate for an amendment to the Revenue Bill which places an extra tax of ten per cent on profits made from child labor. The vote stood 50 to 13 the opposition coming almost entirely from representatives of the Southern cotton-milling states.

This fact is interesting when taken in connection with the recent assertion of the National Child Labor Commission, to the effect that child labor has increased considerably in the South since the law of 1916 was declared unconstitutional. That the increase of child labor is not entirely confined to the Southern states, however, appears from figures compiled from the Child Labor Association of an eastern manufacturing state, according to which the number of children in industry in that state has during the last two years increased from 25,000 to 39,000.

It does not need to be pointed out that the opposition to measures in behalf of the child-laborer comes always from the same sections of the country which offer also the bitterest opposition to the enfranchisement of women. The apparent connection between these two measures is not a illusory one. When nation-wide woman suffrage becomes a fact it will be found that at the same stroke most of the obstacles in the way of decent child legislation will also have been swept away.

French Socialist Women Hold National Conference

FRENCH women are not going to be content to leave the vital problems of reconstruction, so closely affecting themselves and the life of the race, wholly and unreservedly to the mercies of the Peace Conference. Nor are they going to entrust the claims of women without a word to any of the big parties which are seeking representation at the Peace Table.

The Socialist Women of France, for instance, have just ended a national conference in which they discussed the position of French women. After disposing of the political issues before the women, they devoted the major part of the conference to the question of women's work. The conference demands that the adherents of Socialism in France consider first, the political work of women, second, the conditions surrounding women's work, and third the problems of peace.

34 German Women Elected as Delegates

THE Associated Press announces that thirty-four women were elected this week to the German National Assembly. The National Liberty Party was the only party which elected no women delegates to the national assembly. The majority Socialists elected fifteen women, the Independents three, the Democrats five, the Clericals seven, and the Conservatives four.

A Strike for Woman Suffrage in South Africa

THE Woman's Outlook, from South Africa, tells of the possibility of a "woman's strike or passive protest," with the object of arresting public attention to the fact, surprising to many, that women are still unenfranchised in South Africa, and of forcing the hands of the government. It is proposed that on March 1, 1919, every woman and every man who is a suffragist shall cease his or her public activities until the vote is granted to women.

We wish South African women success and hope that we in America shall not have to resort to the drastic method they are adopting to win the franchise.

Dutch Women Call World Conference

THE Dutch Committee of Woman Suffrage has issued a call to a suffrage conference to be held some time this year, with representatives of suffrage organizations from all the countries of the world. The letter which is signed by Aletta H. Jacobs, makes a strong appeal for the solidarity of women regardless of nationality.

European women are showing that they have a real sense of internationalism. The January issue of the International Woman Suffrage News, which has just arrived in this country, devotes four and a half of its sixteen pages to the recent victory for women in Germany—a matter about which information obtainable in this country was so meagre that it was not possible for weeks to establish the fact that the women would vote.

Minimum Wage for Women

IN view of the effort which is being made for the passage of a law in New York providing for the establishment of a minimum wage commission for the state, an investigation of wages paid women has been made by the state industrial commission. The report shows that women are receiving almost unbelievably low wages. In 417 factories investigated 65 per cent of the 32,000 women workers receive less than ten dollars a week. In 206 mercantile establishments 44 per cent of 28,000 women receive less than ten dollars a week. Fifteen dollars has been determined upon as the least possible sum upon which one person can support himself in New York. In estimating the minimum for men workers, the estimate is made, not upon the basis of one person but of a man with dependents. This method seems never to be followed where the estimate deals with women. Women workers almost as invariably as men have dependents. A minimum for them should be made on the same basis as the minimum for men.

The need of some legislation to prevent the exploiting of woman labor is even more important now than it has been, since the women are being forced out of the better paid positions by the men who are returning to work. Employers should be forced to pay all workers at least enough to live upon decently.

A further effort to equalize the position of women and men in industry is being made in New York through the effort to secure a law granting an eight hour day to women. Men workers have set up this rule in many industries through their organizations. The women up to the present have been unable to do this.

We look forward to the day when obviously just regulations like a living wage and a short working day will be granted to men and women alike without discrimination of sex.

Vermont for Presidential Suffrage

THE Vermont legislature has passed a presidential suffrage bill, making the eighth state to give women this amount of suffrage.

Another Step

MME. Maria Montessori, the originator of the Montessori system of teaching, is the first woman to receive the degree of doctor of medicine from the University of Rome.

Another Country

REPORTS of the elections in Poland: Women voted in great numbers.

The Prison Special

TWENTY-TWO members of the National Woman's Party, who have been illegally imprisoned by the Administration for lawfully demanding political freedom, will start on a "Prison Special" tour of the country on Saturday, February 15. They will leave Union Station in Washington, and will spend three weeks going from the South to the Pacific Coast, from the Coast to the Northwest, from there to New England states, and thence to New York, where the tour will end with a mass meeting.

Mass meetings have been arranged in all the large cities on the route, at which the women, all of whom have served at least one sentence in the work-house at Occoquan or in the District of Columbia jail for demanding the right of enfranchisement, will tell how the Democratic Party has blocked the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, and remind the people of the country of the disgraceful record that the Administration has made for itself on this measure of democracy at home.

"From prison to people" will be the slogan under which the 22 prisoners will carry throughout the country the story of their bitter struggle for the freedom of American women under the present Administration, and the failure of the Administration to take action on the amendment although it has had complete control in both the House and the Senate.

It was the plan of the Woman's Party to decorate the outside of the "Prison Special" car with purple, white and gold banners of the Party, and to paint a facsimile of the prison cell doors on each side of the car. The Railroad Administration, however, refused to carry the car if any decorations showed the character of the tour. Instead the women will appear at meetings wearing calico wrappers designed exactly after the pattern of those which they were forced to wear in the work-house, thereby making the accounts of their experiences in jail more vivid.

THE Prison Special is a final effort to secure the passage of the amendment before the present Congress ends in spite of the defeat in the Senate this week.

The itinerary of the trip has been planned by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Norwalk, Conn., who made out the itinerary of the six weeks' suffrage special which toured the country two years ago and which made the astonishing record of never missing an appointed stop. The special will travel over the Atlantic Coast Line, the Southern Railway, the Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, Michigan Central, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, New York Central and New Haven and Hartford railroads, on all of which arrangements have been completed for the trip.

Great quantities of literature will be distributed from the car windows of the special as the train passes through farming communities, so that farmers may learn of the suffragist indictment of President Wilson and the Democratic Congress for failure to pass the suffrage amendment. This literature will be in

Mrs. Adams in Prison Costume

the form of illustrated pamphlets showing the experiences of suffragists in Washington at the hands of government police and prison officials, and will give the record of the Administration on suffrage for the past six years. Lantern slide pictures showing the demonstrations in front of the White House during the last year will be carried along and will be shown at various meetings.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, who will be in charge of the press for the tour, in speaking of the purpose of the trip said:

"We intend to make it clear to the people of the country that the Administration is responsible for the fact that American women are forced to endure imprisonment in their effort to secure the passage of the amendment.

"The idea prevails that President Wilson has done everything he could for suffrage. But the fact is that though he spoke for it he neither preceded nor followed his speech by any effective effort to secure the passage of the amendment; that he has never secured a party caucus on this measure, as he has on those which he has pushed with vigor; that he has urged the election of men whom he knew would vote against suffrage, has failed to denounce the ones who refused to support him on this issue as he has denounced his opponents on other issues, and that he has permitted the floor leader and spokesman of his party to lead the opposition against the enfranchisement of women, in the Senate."

THE prison special will make its first stop at Charleston, S. C., on February 16, where speakers clad in their prison clothes will address a mass meeting of protest against the delay in passing the amendment. They will speak the following day in Columbia, where the state legislature is in session. Leaving Charleston, the car will touch Jacksonville, Chattanooga, New Orleans, San Antonio, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Milwaukee, Detroit, Chicago, Syracuse, Boston and Hartford, and the trip will be brought to a close in New York on March 10.

Among those who will go on the trip are Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C., national political chairman of the Woman's Party; Miss Vida Milholland, Mrs. John Rogers, chairman of the national Advisory Council, Miss Cora Weeks, and Miss Lucy Burns, member of the national Executive Committee, all of New York City; Mrs. Robert Walker, Baltimore, vice-chairman Maryland Branch; Miss Mary Winsor, Haverford, Pa.; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, St. Paul, chairman Minnesota branch; Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania chairman; Miss Edith Ainge, of Jamestown, N. Y.; Mrs. W. D. Ascough, New York City; Mrs. Pauline Adams, vice-chairman Virginia branch, Norfolk, Va.; Miss Gladys Greiner, Baltimore, national organizer of the Woman's Party.

The sentences of the women have been as long as six months. They have been shortened in many instances because the hunger-strikes so greatly embarrassed the jail officials and the Administration, or because the courts decided that the women were being imprisoned illegally, or else because the prisoner was so weakened and seriously ill from the treatment in jail that it was necessary to remove her at once. All of these details will be given by the women at mass meetings.

THE cost of the prison special will be approximately twenty thousand dollars.

The Pennsylvania Branch of the Party has pledged $1,000; the Maryland Branch, $500; Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, $1,000; Mrs. James Winsor, of Haverford, Pa., $500; Mrs. Henry G. Leach, of New York, $500; Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, $250; Mrs. Sophie Meredith, of Richmond, Va., $400; Miss Sheldon Jackson, of Washington, $200; and the Minnesota Branch, $300.

THE itinerary of the trip, in its final form, follows:

Leave Washington, D. C., Saturday, Feb. 15, A. C. L. No. 83, at 9:00 p. m.; arrive Charleston, S. C., Sunday, Feb. 16, 1:10 p. m.

Leave Charleston Monday, Feb. 17, A. C. L. No. 89, 11:40 p. m.; arrive Jacksonville, Fla., Feb. 18, 8:30 a. m.

Leave Jacksonville Wednesday, Feb. 19, So. Ry. No. 12-42, 6:00 p. m ; arrive Chattanooga, Tenn., Thursday, Feb. 20, 9:35 a. m.

Leave Chattanooga Friday, Feb. 21, So. Ry., No. 41-1, 7:00 p. m.; arrive New Orleans, La., Saturday, Feb. 22, 11:50 a. m.

Leave New Orleans Sunday, Feb. 23, No. 7, S. P. Ry., 11:26 a. m.; arrive San Antonio, Texas, Monday, Feb. 24, 7:00 a. m.

Leave San Antonio Monday, Feb. 24, S. P. Ry. No. 9, 7:50 p. m.; arrive Los Angeles, Cal. Wednesday, Feb. 26, 9:05 p. m.

Leave Los Angeles Thursday, Feb. 27, S. P. Ry. No. 75, 6:15 p. m.; arrive San Francisco, Cal., Friday, Feb. 28, 11:15 a. m.

Leave San Francisco Saturday, March 1, S. P. Ry. No. 20-U. P., No. 22, 1:00 p. m.; arrive Denver, Col., Monday, March 3, 12:25 p. m.

Leave Denver Tuesday, March 4, U. P. No. 12-4, C. & N. W. No. 12, 1:30 p. m.; arrive Chicago, Ill., Wednesday, March 5, 10:30 p. m.

Leave Chicago Thursday, March 6, C. M. & St. P., 9:30 a. m.; arrive Milwaukee, Wis. Thursday, March 6, 11:40 a. m.

Leave Milwaukee Thursday March 6, C. M. & St. P. 4:10 p. m.; arrive Chicago Thursday, March 6, 6:10 p. m.

Leave Chicago Friday, March 7, Mich. Cent. No. 36, 12:05 a. m.; arrive Detroit, Mich., Friday March 7, 8:00 a. m.

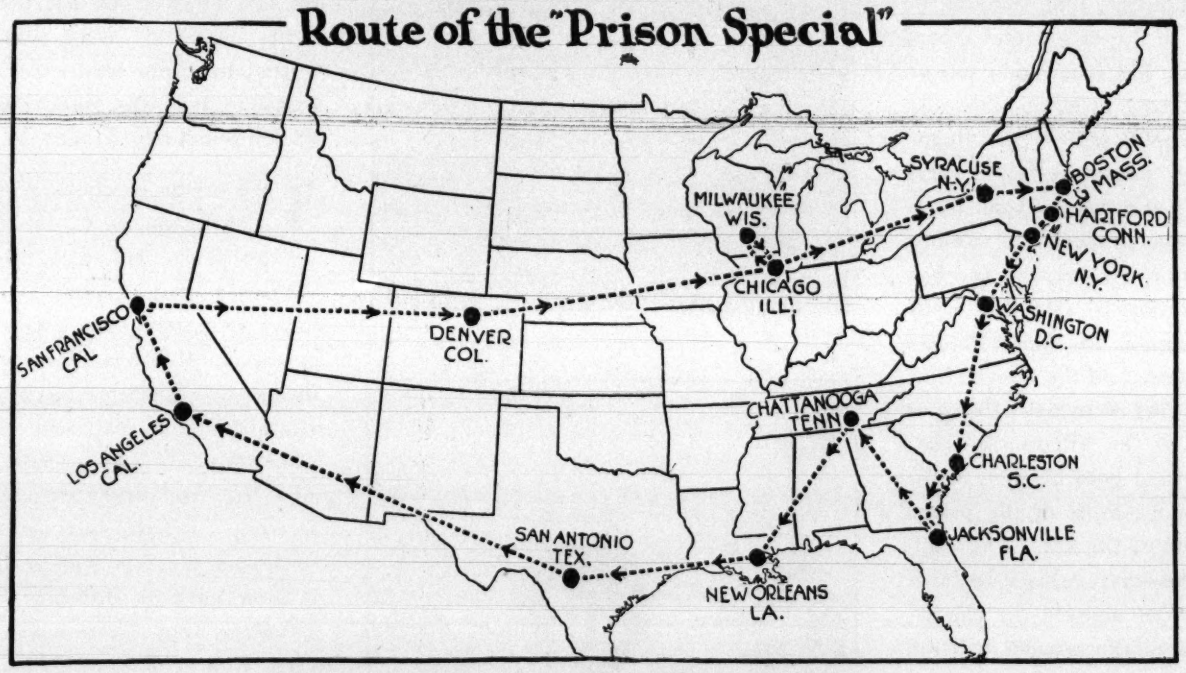
Leave Detroit Friday, March 7, M. C. No. 14, N. Y. C. No. 58, 10:45 p. m.; arrive Syracuse, N. Y., Saturday, March 8, 10:55 a. m.

Leave Syracuse Sunday, March 9, N. Y. C. No. 10, 5:05 a. m.; arrive Boston, Mass., Sunday, March 9, 2:55 p. m.

Leave Boston Monday, March 10, N. Y., N. H. & H., 7:46 a. m.; arrive Hartford, Conn., Monday, March 10, 11:05 a. m.

Leave Hartford Monday, March 10, N. Y., N. H. & H., 2:40 p. m.; arrive New York, N. Y., Monday, March 10, 5:40 p. m.

Leave New York Monday, March 10, Midnight; arrive Washington, D. C., Tuesday morning, March 11.



The Week's Watchfire

JUDGE McMahon, who sits in the federal court in the District of Columbia to pass judgment on lawbreakers Feb. 1, ordered Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia, Pa., and Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Wilmington, Del., suffragists arrested for taking part in the demonstration held in front of the White House Jan. 31, to be jailed until the attorney for the Government had time to find some one to testify against them. When they appeared in court for their trial, the attorney for the Government was unable to produce a witness.

Miss Ingham and Mrs. Arneil were held in jail two days to wait the convenience of the attorney for the Government, who finally was able to produce a policeman willing to give enough testimony to send the two suffragists to jail for two days more.

Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, the 80-year-old suffragist from Jacksonville, Fla., who has been five times a prisoner for demonstrations at the White House, wass arrested with Miss Ingham and Mrs. Arneil but was discharged by the court.

TOGETHER with Mrs. Elsie Toppenalian Russian, of Detroit, Mich., and Miss Bertha Wallerstein, of New York, Mrs. Nolan was arrested again Feb. 4. The three were burning the extracts extolling the principles of liberty taken from the President's speech to the French Deputies, when taken into custody.

They were arraigned Feb. 5, when Mrs. Nolan was sentenced to two days in the District Jail and Mrs. Russian and Miss Wallerstein, a young student at Columbia University, were each given five days.

As the aged Mrs. Nolan and her companions were led into the court-room there was handclapping by the audience. Judge McMahon ordered silence. The applause continued. The court tried to drown it by bellowing orders to the bailiffs to expell the applauders. Miss Ruby Leach, of Jacksonville, Fla.; Mrs. Phoebe Munnecke, of Detroit Mich.; and Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore, Md., were thrown out bodily by the bailiffs.

Mrs. Russian made the following statement to the court:

"By burning the hypocritical words of President Wilson, we have expressed the unmistakable impatience of millions of American women. In place of words, these women demand action. I am glad to have taken part in the expression of that demand."

Mrs. Nolan finished her sentence somewhat feebly from the lack of food and sleep, but as vigorous as ever in spirit.

"I am old, I guess," said the veteran militant, "but if I were a hundred I would do just as I am doing now. I am willing to use every drop of life left in me to push this fight to its end."

HOME fires of Democracy will be lighted in front of the White House until the Senate passes the suffrage amendment.

Democratic Caucus and the Suffrage Resolution

IN a final desperate effort to line up the Democrats in favor of the suffrage amendment, a caucus of the party was held in the Senate Office Building on Wednesday night, February 5. Twenty-three senators in favor of the suffrage amendment were present, and seventeen anti-suffrage senators were there. A discussion of several hours, which grew more and more heated as time went on, was brought to a conclusion at last, when the motion was put that it was the sense of the Democrats of the Senate that the amendment should be adopted by this Congress and submitted to the country without delay. The senators in favor of the motion voted, and those senators who were opposed refused to respond to their names when the roll was called.

Senator Martin, of Virginia, bitter opponent of suffrage, as chairman of the caucus and party leader in the Senate, declared that since only 23 votes were cast there was not a quorum present, and the caucus broke up, with the Democratic Party still blocking the enfranchisement of women.

Politicians and newspaper men declare that never since the time of Congressman Reed, of Maine, who was called the "Czar of the House," has such an autocratic method been employed.

Suffragists had hoped that although the President had done nothing to win the passage of the amendment next Monday, yet his party would take this last opportunity to line up for democracy in this country.

In the midst of the discussion, Senator Pollock, of South Carolina, who had heretofore refused to make a public statement as to his stand on the amendment, spoke for it and pledged his vote to suffrage, thereby assuring suffragists of all but one vote for the passage of the amendment on Monday.

ON the following day several of the suffrage senators attempted to call a second caucus, but this failed. Although the Democrats have failed to go on record with a party resolution in favor of the adoption of the amendment, Senator Jones, chairman of the Senate Committee, announced he would on Monday, February 10.

The call for the caucus was issued by Senator Martin, Democratic leader, upon a petition being presented asking for it and signed by twenty-two Democratic Senators.

Meeting the President on His Return from Europe

THE women voters of New York will take part in the celebration planned to welcome the President home from his Democracy tour of Europe. They will carry the purple and gold banners of the Woman's Party with inscriptions asking why he still deprives the women of America of the democracy he has preached abroad.

Among them will be working women who will demand to know why their sisters in the mills of New England and the South whose labor helped win the war are denied the right to make laws for the protection of themselves and their children.

That the President's memory of omissions at home may be refreshed the moment he lands on American soil this protesting group of women will be on the dock to greet him. That he may not once forget during his stay in New York, it will follow him wherever he goes—silently, but if the President has imagination it will carry to his ears the voices of millions. Through it will speak the despairing voices of mothers in Rhode Island and Connecticut whose babies are doomed before birth because industry has drained their vitality—of mothers in South Carolina and Georgia whose children are being destroyed that cotton mills may prosper.

It will speak for the enfranchised women giving warning that these will not forget should the suffrage amendment fail of passage at this session of Congress. The women voters of New York, California and the other free states will hold responsible the Democratic Party and the man who leads it. It will speak for mothers whose boys died in France to make the world safe for Democracy asking that they be given rights which came to the women of Germany without struggle.

WOMEN in Washington are planning to meet the President when he arrives in Washington in much the same manner as that in which the New York women are planning for his reception, at the docks. They will remind him that during his long absence from the Capitol women have not been idly waiting in humble aquiescence for the time when his Administration shall see fit to enfranchise them, but that they have been working for that enfranchisement with every atom of their strength. And they will remind him that in spite of all this, and in spite of his words on behalf of freedom, the women of his nation are still bound up in political chains, and that his Victory Congress has not yet taken steps to free them.

This session of Congress ends March 4. The President is due to leave France soon. The demonstration being planned by American women as their part of the welcome celebration is to remind him that he will have only a few days to work on the Democratic majority in the United States Senate before it sings it swan song.

Still More State Legislatures Demand Action on the Federal Amendment

THE action of the Senate on Monday, February 10, does not represent the sentiment of the country.

This is evidenced by the demand of the state legislatures from many sections of the country that the Senate pass the amendment.

The last two states to add themselves to this list were Missouri and Ohio. From Missouri, which has one Senator, Senator Reed, opposed to the measure, came a resolution from the legislature demanding that the amendment be passed. From Ohio, where also one Senator is for and one against, came a resolution calling upon Senator Pomerene to vote with Senator Harding in favor of the amendment.

On the day of the vote Senator Hale was presented with a petition signed by a majority of the Maine legislators, and handed him by a Maine woman requesting him to vote favorably on the amendment.

The other twenty-three state legislatures which had during the preceding few weeks sent resolutions or petitions to the Senate urging the passage of the amendment were Montana, Texas, Arizona, Indiana, Minnesota, Kansas, Washington, Arkansas, Idaho, North Dakota, California, Utah, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Michigan, New York, Wisconsin, Florida, New Hampshire, Oregon, Illinois, and Nevada.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.
First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.
Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.
Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.
In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Reported in the Senate
Favorably September 15, 1917.
Reported in the House
By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.
By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.
Present Status
In the Senate
Voted upon February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
Passed January 10, 1918, by one vote.

The Suffragist

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3,1879

Pass the Amendment this Session

WHILE there is one day left of the present session, American women demand that the United States Senate reconsider and pass the federal amendment, giving them the right of self-government.

They demand that the President gather his political forces for a determined fight to put the suffrage amendment through Congress before March 4.

The amendment lacked three votes June 27, when it was brought before the Senate for discussion. It lacked two votes on October 1, when it was acted upon by the Senate. This week it lacked only one vote.

It is inconceivable that this great democratic measure, which has successfully passed the House, should be allowed to fail by one vote in the Upper Chamber.

It is an affront to American women, who in their millions gave their devoted service to the nation in its war "for democracy," and it is a disgrace to our country in the eyes of the world, which has been invited to look to America for liberal leadership, that our government should defeat a bill to put an end to the existing political servitude of millions of its citizens.

Every American owes it to the country to make a desperate fight to save the suffrage amendment, and bring this nation up to the level of all the other great English-speaking democracies of the world.

We can do it. We have only to demand it. There is not a man in the Senate who will not yield to a determined onslaught from his constituents. The President of the United States and his Party, which still controls Congress, have never yet defied a plain and persistent mandate from the people. They will not defy it now.

President Wilson and the Democratic Party are in a very unhappy position, and they know it. They have denied to millions of future voters their fundamental political rights. They have come very close to handing over this vast issue to the victorious Republican Party to make use of in any way that best suit its own interests. The Republicans, with three-fourths of their Senate membership on record for the suffrage amendment, are glorying over their opponents, so obligingly incompetent, and are counting on the issue of "enfranchisement for women" to serve them well. The suffrage Democrats, from the President down, know it, and fully realize that up to this date their party has gone on obstinately forcing a trump card into their opponents' hands.

But they can recover it. They have only to call all their Senate members together, use their majority to make this democratic amendment a Democratic measure, force into political outlawry the men who oppose justice, and deny them party support at the polls, as they have done many times before when they were in earnest about the nation's business. Does anyone doubt that if they set about it they could win one vote? Does any one doubt that women could make them do it, if every woman in the United States who believed in political equality would express her belief by as much as one cable to our absent President, now preaching freedom to the benighted Europeans?

"You will win in the next Congress," say the bland politicians. We demand that it be in this Congress!

February 15, 1919

Senate Defeats Suffrage by One Vote

ON FEBRUARY tenth the Democratic Senate once more failed to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment, by a vote of fifty-five to twenty-nine, lacking one vote of the required two-thirds. The twelve absent Senators were paired, so that the stand of every one of them is on record. Since the vote was taken on the first of last October twenty-six state legislatures have gone on record as favoring the amendment and have urged their Senators to vote favorably upon it and two states have passed Presidential suffrage bills. The position of the Senate as a reactionary body standing in the path of reform is once more clearly outlined—without shame, it opposes democracy at every turn

The debate on Monday was confined to two speeches given by Senator Pollock, of South Carolina, a man who has taken his seat in the Senate since the last vote and who by his favorable vote diminished the majority against the measure from two to one, and by Senator Gay, of Louisiana. Senator Pollock spoke at length in support of the amendment. Senator Gay spoke against it. The scene in the Senate was of quite a different character from the one last October. There seemed little doubt in the minds of the Senators as to what would happen. Again Senator Frelinghuysen offered amendments and spoke in favor of restricting the vote of foreign women married to citizens of the United States. Senator Calder deplored the fact that no recognition or decorations have been given by this country to the women who have acted as nurses and in other capacities at the battle front.

Senator Pollock's speech was most illuminating, as indicating a new spirit concerning women in the South. It considered and disposed of all the stock Southern arguments advanced by the opponents of suffrage.

SENATOR Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the Suffrage Committee, opened the proceedings by asking unanimous consent for the consideration of the suffrage resolution. This was granted.

Senator Williams, of Mississippi, then said: "Mr. President, I want to move an amendment, in order that it may be pending, to insert the word 'white' just before the word 'citizens'" The Vice-President stated: "Under the state of the rules the joint resolution is not subject to amendment save by unanimous consent, it having passed to the third reading." Mr. Williams then said: "It is utterly useless to ask unanimous consent, so I shall not take up the time of the Senate."

Senator Pollock then delivered the main speech of the debate.

Following Senator Pollock and a few remarks from Senator Calder, of New York, Senator Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, proposed the following amendment to the resolution:

At the end of the joint resolution add the following:

"but no male person who is not a citizen of the United States shall exercise the right of suffrage at an election for Senators and Representatives in Congress or for electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, and no female person who is not such a citizen otherwise than by marriage, or who, having acquired citizenship by marriage, has not complied with such requirements and conditions as may be prescribed by the Congress shall exercise such right."

The presiding officer ruled, as on Senator Williams' proposal, that amendments were not in order at this stage in the procedure.

After a speech by Senator Frelinghuysen in support of his amendment and a speech by Senator Gay against the resolution, the roll was called as follows:

YEAS

REPUBLICAN

Calder, New York
Colt, Rhode Island
Cummins, Iowa
Curtis, Kansas
Fall, New Mexico (paired)
Fernald, Maine
France, Maryland
Frelinghuysen, N. J. (paired)
Goff, West Virginia (paired)
Gronna, North Dakota
Harding, Ohio
Johnson, Cal.
Jones, Washington
Kellogg, Minnesota
Kenyon, Iowa
LaFollette, Wisconsin
Lenroot, Wisconsin
McCumber, North Dakota
McNary, Oregon
Nelson, Minnesota
New, Indiana
Norris, Nebraska
Page, Vermont
Poindexter, Washington
Sherman, Illinois
Smith, Michigan
Smoot, Utah
Sterling, South Dakota
Sutherland, West Virginia
Townsend, Michigan
Warren, Wyoming
Watson, Indiana

DEMOCRAT

Ashurst, Arizona
Chamberlain, Ore. (paired)
Culberson, Texas
Gerry, R. I.
Henderson, Nevada
Hollis, N. H. (paired)
Gore, Oklahoma
Johnson, South Dakota
Jones, New Mexico
Kendrick, Wyoming
King, Utah (paired)
Kirby, Arkansas
Lewis, Illinois
Martin, Kentucky (paired)
McKellar, Tennessee
Myers, Montana
Nugent, Idaho
Owen, Oklahoma (paired)
Phelan, California (paired)
Pittman, Nevada
Pollock, South Carolina
Ransdell, Louisiana
Robinson, Arkansas
Shafroth, Colorado
Sheppard, Texas
Spencer, Missouri
Smith, Arizona
Thomas, Colorado
Thompson, Kansas
Vardaman, Mississippi
Walsh, Montana

NAYS

REPUBLICAN

Baird, New Jersey
Borah, Idaho
Brandegee, Connecticut
Dillingham, Vermont
Hale, Maine
Knox, Pennsylvania (paired)
Lodge, Massachusetts
Moses, New Hampshire
McLean, Connecticut
Penrose, Pennsylvania
Wadsworth, New York
Weeks, Massachusetts

DEMOCRAT

Bankhead, Ala.
Beckham, Kentucky
Fletcher, Florida
Gay, Louisiana
Hardwick, Georgia
Hitchcock, Nebraska
Martin, Virginia
Overman, North Carolina
Pomerene, Ohio
Reed, Missouri (paired)
Saulsbury, Delaware
Shields, Tennessee (paired)
Simmons, North Carolina
Smith, South Carolina
Smith, Georgia
Smith, Maryland (paired)
Swanson, Virginia
Trammell, Florida
Underwood, Alabama
Williams, Mississippi
Wolcott, Delaware

Speech by Senator Pollock in the Senate Debate on Suffrage, February 10

Senator Pollock of South Carolina, was elected in November to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Tillman and to succeed Senator Benet who had been appointed to the Senatorship until an election could take place. Both Senator Tillman and Senator Benet were opposed to the Suffrage Amendment. Senator Pollock's declaration in support of the amendment gave it the one additional vote it gained in February over the number polled in favor in October.

MR. President and gentlemen of the Senate, when the representatives of the people are called upon to decide a momentous issue upon which their constituents are greatly divided and to grant or refuse a right to which it is claimed the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to their course. Let this then be my excuse and apology for consuming a little of the time of this greatest of all deliberative bodies in presenting to the Senate of the United States, and through it to the people of the whole nation, my reasons for the vote which I shall cast on the pending resolution to submit to the various states the justice and the advisability of so amending the Constitution of the United States as to extend to the women of America the right or privilege of suffrage on the same condition as that right or privilege is extended to men.

As a Senator coming from South Carolina, one of the original thirteen colonies that voluntarily entered into the Union and helped frame the Constitution of our common country and became one of the thirteen original states; coming from the state of John C. Calhoun, the leading exponent of state rights; coming from the state that first exercised the right to secede from the Union, I want to say that we of South Carolina are happy and rejoiced that we were not permitted to remain out of the Union, and we are today as true and as loyal as any part of this great country of ours. We honor its flag, we glory in its history, we rejoice in its wonderful power and resources, and we are proud to be a part of the best country upon which God's sun shines. We have long since ceased to regret that in the Providence of God we were not permitted to set up a separate government of our own. We had the right to secede upon the Constitution. My father, my kindred, and my countrymen fought for that right, but the Constitution of the United States was amended at Appomattox when Lee tendered his sword to Grant, and when, with the sword, it was written into the Constitution the immortal words of Lincoln on the field of Gettysburg:

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

From that day forward the greatest of all state rights was destroyed, the states in their separate sovereignty ceased to exist; and now we have a nation the wonder and the admiration of the world instead of forty-eight separate and independent petty states; and in this day of world upheaval when the foundations of civilization and of human liberty have been shaken, when the last great struggle between barbarism and civilization, between slavery and freedom, has been fought out on a scale heretofore undreamed of, thank God that America, the young giant of the West, my country and your country, is one and inseparable, so that America could in part at least fulfill her mission on earth to destroy autocracy and set up democracy, to banish human slavery and set up human liberty, to take away special privilege and establish equal rights to all, to break the power of the strong oppressor and give the opportunity of self-government to the weak, and I must believe that in God's appointed time all these things will come to pass and that it is for us to hasten its coming.

IN approaching a discussion of this resolution it seems to me that two considerations must of necessity enter—the one of principle, and the other of expediency. Principles are eternal, expedients are temporary. A principle is right today, tomorrow, and forever. An expedient may appeal to us today and be obnoxious to us tomorrow.

We should enter upon the consideration of this resolution from the standpoint of principle, because it is now sought to incorporate the pending resolution in the permanent statement of principles that constitute the organic law of our country. I hold, with Thomas Jefferson, that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." I hold, sir, that man is not more than the equal of woman. I hold, sir, that woman has the same right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as man. I hold, sir, that this government was instituted to secure these rights as much for woman as for man. I hold, sir, that our present form of government has been and is destructive of these ends in that it has denied to woman the liberty to which she is entitled, the right to have a voice in her government; the right to participate in the selection of her officials; the right to counsel in the enactment of the laws under which she and her children shall live, upon which her life, her liberty, and her happiness depend. I hold, sir, wtih the Revolutionary fathers that taxation without representation is tyranny, and that today our country, our government, controlled, directed, and administered by the manhood of America is tyrannically treating the best women of the world by exacting taxes from them without their express consent. . . .

WHENCE came the right of man to vote? Was it given under the Constitution of the United States? Search that wonderfully compact instrument from beginning to end, and nowhere will you find that the right to vote and hold office was ever granted to man to the exclusion of woman.

Under the XIV Amendment to the Constitution it is provided:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

Article II, section 5, of the Constitution, prescribed the qualifications for President, and nowhere does sex enter into it, but merely citizenship, age, and residence. The same is true as to Representatives in Congress as laid down in Article I, section 2, and the same is true as to Senators as laid down in Article I, section 3. The word "person" is used, and under the XIV Amendment all persons, whether male or female, are included in the term citizen. Therefore, since the adoption of the XIV Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, denying to the states the right to abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, and denying the States the right to deprive any person of liberty or the equal protection of the law, I respectfully submit that as a matter of constitutional law we have no right to say to woman "Thou shalt not vote."

Who gave man the right to vote? It will be answered that the states conferred that privilege. And who controlled the states? The manhood of the states, and the men assumed a power, a privilege that every impulse of human nature, every dictate of conscience, every high and noble and worthy sentiment should have required that they should have shared with woman. They won the right to exercise

full citizenship only wtih the aid, the comfort, the sympathy, and the patient endurance of hardship of the women—they won this by force of arms with the assistance of woman—and then when they had won the victory of American independence and freedom and liberty they withheld from woman, without whom they could not have won, her fair share of that freedom and liberty. She is a citizen without its privileges, a taxpayer without a voice, a partner without her profit, and all this because she can not bear arms and fight wars for her own independence and freedom and liberty, just as man could not do without her comfort and assistance.

FOR more than 140 years in America we have had freedom and liberty for half our people, and we have had patient and uncomplaining slavery for the other half. For nearly a century and a half we have had democracy for one-half of our people and tyranny for the other, and I say, sir, today that this nation can not and will not endure forever one half free and the other half serf. The hosts of democracy are marching on, they are toppling over kings and thrones and setting up governments of the people; they are destroying special privileges and setting up equal rights; they are annihilating brute force and they are establishing justice; they are doing these things in foreign lands, and they will soon accomplish them here so that our country will not only be known as the land of the free and the home of the brave, but it will also be known as the land of truth, of justice, and of righteousness the world over.

This is no new proposition before the American people. For 40 years and more the women of America have been carrying on the unequal struggle, but they have been slowly gaining ground, so slowly, in fact, that perhaps men might hav become discouraged; so gradually that if they had been engaged in a less honest cause they themselves might have abandoned it; but with the devotion and constancy of womankind, in the face of defeat after defeat, having nothing but the justice of their cause to hearten them they have made the fight, they have kept the faith, they have endured hardship and heart burns even to the point where they brought censure and ridicule on themselves in order that they might keep the flame burning, in order that the conscience of man might be touched to hear their plea and do them justice. And now a brighter day is dawning. God grant that it may be my good fortune, in the brief time that I shall be a member of this body, to aid in bringing about the adoption of this resolution whereby the political shackles shall be broken from the hands of the women of America, and whereby they shall be permitted to step out in the full bright light of American citizenship. . . .

To exercise that privilege is honorable, therefore it can not be dishonorable; and the manhood of America has already indorsed woman's right to vote from one end of America to the other. A number of the states of the Union have accorded the right; the Republican national convention has indorsed the principle; the Democratic national convention has indorsed the principle; a two-thirds majority in the National House of Representatives has voted its approval; a large majority—nearly two-thirds—of the Senate of the United States has voted its approval; the people of America, through their representatives in the two great political conventions, have spoken for the principle and have declared the claim of the women is just; the people, through their representatives in the Congress of the United States, have tried to accord this privilege to them; the President of the United States, speaking as only Woodrow Wilson can for the democracies of the world, has appealed to this body to do this simple act of justice to the mothers, the wives, and the daughters of this land as Britain has done.

They had earned this consideration at the hands of the manhood of America before this awful war, and who will say that the women of this land have not doubly earned all that they ask, all that they desire, all that could be bestowed upon them by their magnificent spirit of patriotism since we have been engaged in this war for world freedom? . . .

When nurses were needed she has volunteered, when laborers were needed she has responded, she has aided in the great campaign for floating the Government's bonds, she has subscribed liberally from her own funds, and by her enthusiasm and charm has caused the men to do their duty. When men have become discouraged she has heartened them, when men have lagged behind she has encouraged them. . . .

THE argument that this is a matter for action by the states, and that to pass this resolution is a violation of state rights, is not a reason but an excuse on the part of many for opposing this resolution, and a very poor excuse at that.

When a respectable portion of the American people ask that the question of amending the Constitution of the United States be submitted to the states for their approval or disapproval, it is a denial of state rights to refuse to let the states through their legislatures act. There is but one right that each separate state has under the Constitution which can not be taken away from it without its consent, and that is to have equal representation in the Senate, but the Constitution may be amended in all other particulars when three-fourths of the states so decree. And surely no one will say that the right of any one state should be greater than the right expressly conferred upon three-fourths of the states acting jointly through their several legislatures to amend the Constitution in other respects. The right of three-fourths of the states to amend the Constitution is one of the highest rights of all state rights, and when this resolution shall have passed this body by the necessary two-thirds vote, as I feel sure that it will, then the right—the states' right—to adopt or reject the proposed amendment will be conferred upon the states rather than withheld from them. I do not hesitate to say, sir, that to refuse to pass this resolution under the circumstances is to refuse to give to three-fourths of the states a right which they have under the Constitution, and that under the pretext that we would be giving to three-fourths of the states the power to take away from a single state a power or right which it does not possess under the Constitution.

No one state has the right to say what the qualifications for voting shall be when three-fourths of the states express themselves otherwise, and no state has the right to say to three-fourths of the states that they shall not amend the Constitution other than as to equal representation in this body. John C. Calhoun, of Souh Carolina, possibly the greatest exponent of the doctrine of state rights in America, the patron political saint of South Carolinians and one of the greatest statesmen that our country has ever produced, in his masterly reply to Webtser in 1833, speaking of the rights of the states under the Constitution, said:

"In this compact they have stipulated, among other things, that it may be amended by three-fourths of the states—that is, they have conceded to each other by compact the right to add new powers or to subtract old by the consent of that proportion of the states without requiring, as otherwise would have been the case, the consent of all—a modification no more inconsistent with their sovereignty than any other contained in the document."

The original Constitution is silent as to the powers delegated to the United States or prohibited by it to the States—the question of the right to vote was not delegated, it is true, to the United States, nor was it prohibited by the Constitution to the States, and it was provided in the tenth amendment as follows:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved in the states, respectively, or to the people." This amendment was adopted by the votes of 11 of the then 14 states, and South Carolina was the fourth state, January 19, 1790, to adopt this amendment. Had it not been for the passage of this amendment, it might now be debatable whether the power to prescribe the qualifications for voting was in the United States or in the several states, because, as you will note in Article I, section 2, it is provided that the qualification for suffrage for members of Congress shall be the same as that provided in the different states for the most numerous branch of the legislature of that state, and the seventeenth amendment is practically a repetition of that provision in the Constitution in so far as the qualification for suffrage for the United States Senate is concerned. Had it not been for the passage of this amendment, it might be now debatable whether the power to prescribe the qualifications for voting was in the United

States or in the several states, because the power was neither delegated to the United States nor expressly retained by the several states; but since the adoption of the tenth amendment any doubt that may have existed has been removed—the power is in the several states—and the Federal Government can only take away or limit this right by amending the Constitution of the United States; and by the adoption of the fifteenth amendment the power to limit the right of the several states to abridge the right of suffrage has been expressly recognized and upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. . . .

IT is argued that we should not submit this proposed amendment to the various states on account of the race question in the South. Do senators realize that when two-thirds of this body, representing two-thirds of the states in this Union, shall have passed this resolution, as pass it we will, that this resolution must then be adopted by the legislatures of not a majority, not two-thirds, but three-fourths of all the states of the Union? Do they realize that the legislatures of 13 states out of the 48 states can prevent its adoption, that it will require favorable action on the part of the legislatures of 36 states before this resolution can become a part of the organic law of the land? Will any senator say that there is more wisdom, more fairness, and more justice in any 33 members of this body than there is in the representatives of 36 of the states of this Union?

Are we living up to our professions of democracy, of faith in our people, when we refuse to permit them to decide these questions themselves? Are we sincere, and can we make the world believe that we are sincere, when we say that we entered this great war from purely altruistic motives, in order that the peoples of the earth may govern themselves, not only in selecting their officials, enacting their statutory laws, construing and exerting their own laws, but making and changing their constitutions upon which all these things depend, and still deny to our own people the right to settle this question, that involves the liberty and freedom of one-half of our citizenship? . . .

We may have to fight the same political battles that we fought in reconstruction days in the South, but it will be white people against negro people. The black man could not control the white man, and the negro man and the negro woman combined can not any more control the white man and the white woman combined. . . . And here today, speaking in behalf of the womanhood of America, speaking as a representative of a section that has been much misunderstood and naturally so, I swear anew my allegiance to my own people, my own blood, my own race, and while you of the North, the East, and the West, who are not set about with our own peculiar problem, can not pass this resolution without assistance from the South, I pledge you that in my capacity as a Senator of the United States I know no section, I see only my whole country, and I covenant with you, and you covenant with me, that you will do under this amendment as you have done under the fifteenth amendment—you will not undertake to place in control over us a race of people that you would never allow to govern you. The white men have outvoted the negro men, and that under trying conditions, and, God helping us, from this day forward the white men and the white women will outvote the negro men and the negro women.

MR. President, in the short time that I have been a member of this body the three greatest social questions that ever have engaged the attention of a people have been before the American people. It has been my good fortune to witness the ratification of the last amendment to the Constitution whereby liquor was driven out of America. It has been my privilege, sir, speaking my own sentiments, and as God is my judge, believing I speak the sentiments of the people of America, to speak for the peace of America and for the peace of the world.

So today another opportunity is presented to me which I gladly grasp. That is, not only to raise my voice in behalf of human liberty and freedom for the women of America, but it shall be my privilege to cast a vote for that which I know to be right and which therefore can not be wrong.

Mr. President, when this joint resolution was last before the Senate of the United States it needed but 2 votes to pass it. Since that time it has been my fortune to come here. It is now my privilege, my pleasure, to present to the womanhood of America one-half of all the votes that were needed when the joint resolution was here before. I don't know what changes there may have been, but I do know that if all those who voted for the joint resolution when it was here before shall vote for it again today, when that vote is supplemented by my vote the women of America can need but one vote today. So the responsibility is placed squarely up to every Senator in this body who may vote "nay." You can grant or you can deny justice to the women of America. Each man has the whole responsibility resting upon him. Dare you deny that right? You who hesitate, you who believe in it, you who want to follow your President, you who want to follow your legislatures, you who want to follow the American people, you who hear the call of justice, will you dare assume all the responsibility, because if the joint resolution fails to pass today each and every man who votes "nay" will thereby take upon his own shoulders the whole responsibility for the failure of the measure.

SIR, I come from the South. I come from a state that has a majority of negro population. Some men have said that they do not want to force anything on the South. I tell you, speaking for the new South, speaking for the real South, speaking for the American South, we want this privilege. We feel that the women are entitled to it, and we know that we can handle any race question that comes up in this enlightened age. We know there is no danger from it. You need not withhold your vote because you think that some of us down there do not want it.

Let me call this further to the attention of the Senate. The Republicans are committed to the principle. The Democrats are committed to the principle. The two great political conventions have put it in their platforms. It is just a question now of the method by which you will get it.

Let me tell you that no man will be nominated for the Presidency by either party who is not an advocate of woman suffrage. Let me tell you that neither convention of either party would dare fail to place in its platform when it meets in convention next year a plank calling for the passage of this joint resolution. Everybody will be for it when the next conventions meet. You will be bound to vote for it then whether you will or not.

Let me tell you, you may defeat it today, but you only postpone it. You may postpone it for a few months, it may be possibly for a year, but this Congress, as it is gradually dying, has the opportunity to make itself immortal. If you do not pass this joint resolution the incoming Congress will pass it. You can not prevent the passage of the joint resolution. You can not prevent giving women the right to vote. They are going to have it. It is just a question whether you will do it today or whether you will do it a little later.

I beg Senators, when only one vote is needed, not to turn deaf ears to 50,000,000 of people. It is too late now for any man belonging to either party to doubt the wisdom of women voting. We are all committed to it. It is coming; it is here. I believe, Mr. President, that the joint resolution is going to pass today, and this Senate will go down in history forever more on account of that than on account of any other one thing that it may have done during its time.

History Repeats Itself; Susan B. Anthony Militant

ON the fifteenth of February, the anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birthday, there is much that we recall with sorrow and bitterness; there is much that we recall with smiles, and ever and anon we turn to the pages of her diary or to the venerable records of the court for that humor which alone can give us faith.

It is in memory of Susan B. Anthony, who so bitterly struggled alone for the freedom of women, that the "militant suffragists" are reminded of the famous trial, "The United States vs. Susan B. Anthony."

Those other "militants" who are being illegally arrested and tried without jury, without legal or moral rights, for lawfully asking for freedom, will read again on the anniversary of Miss Anthony's birthday the record of that trial. Those who are being sent to jail by order of the Police Court of the District of Columbia and by order of Federal Judge McMahon, will read with a finer understanding the story of her indictment by the United States of America for "voting without having a lawful right to vote" on November 5, 1872.

THE case of Miss Anthony was argued by Judge Selden from a legal, constitutional and moral standpoint, after which the prosecuting district-attorney gave a two hours' talk whereupon Judge Hunt, without permitting the jury to bring in a verdict, presented his opinion, written before the case had been heard, and directed the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty. The jury was dismissed without any consultation, and a new trial was refused. On the following day, however, this familiar scene took place in the court-room:

Judge Hunt—(Ordering the defendant to stand up) Has the prisoner anything to say why sentence shall not be pronounced?

Miss Anthony—Yes, your honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject: and not only myself individually but all my sex are, by your honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this so-called republican form of government.

Judge Hunt—The Court cannot listen to a rehearsal of argument which the prisoner's counsel has already consumed three hours in presenting.

Miss Anthony—May it please your honor, I am not arguing the question, but simply stating the reasons why sentence can not, in justice, be pronounced against me. Your denial of my citizen's right to vote, is the denial of my right of consent as one of the governed, the denial of my right of representation as one taxed, the denial of my right to a trial by a jury of my peers as an offender against law; therefore, the denial of my sacred right to life, liberty, property and—

Judge Hunt—The Court can not allow the prisoner to go on.

Miss Anthony—But your honor will not deny me this one and only poor privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's right. May it please the Court to remember that, since the day of my arrest last November, this is the first time that either myself or any person of my disfranchised class has been allowed a word of defense before judge or jury—

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Judge Hunt—The prisoner must sit down—the Court can not allow it.

Miss Anthony—Of all my persecutors, from the corner grocery politician who entered the complaint, to the United States marshal, commissioner, district-attorney, district judge, your honor on the bench—not one is my peer, but each and all are my political sovereigns; ----------Precisely as no disfranchised person is entitled to sit upon a jury, and no woman is entitled to the franchise, so none but a regularly admitted lawyer is allowed to practice in the courts, and no woman can gain admission to the bar—hence, jury, judge, counsel, all must be of superior class.

Judge Hunt—The Court must insist—the prisoner has been tried according to the established forms of law.

Miss Anthony—Yes your honor but by forms of law all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men and against women; and hence your honor's ordered verdict of guilty, against a United States citizen for the exercise of the "citizen's right to vote," simply because that citizen was a woman and not a man----------As then the slaves who got their freedom had to take it over or under or through the unjust forms of law, precisely so now must women take it to get their right to a voice in this government; and I have taken mine, and mean to take it at every opportunity.

Judge Hunt—The Court orders the prisoner to sit down. It will not allow another word.

Miss Anthony—When I was brought before your honor for trial, I hoped for a broad interpretation of the Constitution and its recent amendments, which should declare all United States citizens under its protecting aegis—----------But failing to get this justice—failing even, to get a trial by a jury not of my peers— I ask not leniency at your hands but rather the full rigor of the law.

Judge Hunt—The Court must insist—(Here the prisoner sat down). The prisoner will stand up. (Here Miss Anthony rose again.) The sentence of the Court is that you pay a fine of $100 and the costs of the prosecution.

Miss Anthony—May it please your honor, I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. ----------And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

Judge Hunt—Madam, the Court will not order you stand committed until the fine is paid.

ON the following day the "outraged" press of the country thus poured forth its wrath upon Judge Hunt:

"The decision of Judge Hunt in the Anthony case has been widely criticised, and it seems to us not without reason. Even among those who accept the conclusion that women have not a legal right to vote and who do not hesitate to express the opinion that Miss Anthony deserved a greater punishment than she received, we find many seriously questioning the propriety of a proceeding whereby the proper functions of the jury are dispensed with, and the Court arrogates to itself the right to determine as to the guilt or innocence of the accused party." The Canan Times.

And the Albany Law Journal wrapping itself in all its legal authority gave forth this ultimatum: "If Miss Anthony does not like our law's she'd better emigrate!"

Miss Anthony was all her life a militant, another instance of the fact was at the celebration in 1876, at Independence Square of the centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Here she and others walked on to the platform and spoke in protest at a celebration of democracy until women should be made part of it.

Comments of the Press

A Political Opportunity

THE passage of the suffrage amendment is a political opportunity of the Democratic Party at this time. The next Congress will probably pass into Republican control. The party that claims the honor of freeing women will have powerful campaign material in the strategic West in the 1920 campaign.—New Orleans Item, January 24, 1919.

Florida Wants Suffrage

THERE are only a few weeks remaining until the suffrage amendment to the constitution will have been ditched by the present Congress or the men themselves will resurrect it from the pigeonhole and see that the women of the country are given fair recognition.

The Florida delegation is divided, both Senators Fletcher and Trammell being recorded against suffrage. While we do not wish to question the judgment of these men, yet we are certain that they do not have their ears to the grass roots on the question, and they are making the biggest political mistake of their lives by opposing the giving the right to women that they would accord the most ignorant man in Florida, the drunkard, and the negro. There is one thing certain, and that is, if an office holder is looking out for his future politically, he will find that in opposing woman's suffrage he is defeating himself and is out of harmony with the times. In fact, there is not a politician in the state of Florida who will dare come out on a public platform and in a statewide campaign and publicly fight woman's suffrage. In the first place, they are too wise if they are politicians to do so, and in the next place they might just as well save their time and energy, and they know it, because it would defeat them.

Sentiment is changing in Florida and all over the country. Women have demonstrated during this war that they are entitled to a place along with the men in directing the affairs of the nation because it was due largely to woman's work that the war program was so well handled. We are not saying that they should be given places in Senate and House and other higher responsible positions. We don't believe they are asking for anything of that character, nor will they ever ask it as an organization. Of course there will be a few who will feel that they can do as well as the men in such places, but what women want is to know that they have a power in helping to frame decent and fair laws of the states they live in with a vote; they want to know that they are respected because a woman's opinion and her wishes must be recognized in this day and age, and we feel sorry for the man that is not willing to give her just a fair chance and a human right in expressing herself over the laws which govern her.

The Florida delegation will find that sentiment in this state is changing and that just as prohibition was so much opposed only a few years ago, Florida has expressed herself emphatically on the question and a complete transformation has been effected. We should not have to ask our Congress to wait until his state can vote, but compliment the women of our land by handing it to them and showing them that we have implicit confidence in them. They deserve it and shall have it.—Lakeland Florida Star.

Militants and Their Work

MANY of our people who have watched the rapidly rising tide of the suffrage movement, have wondered at times at the tactics used by some of its radical members.

Unless one is intimately associated with the political work, and has a thorough knowledge of the history of the movement and the present political situation, it is indeed difficult to follow some of the more radical suffragists, namely the National Woman's Party.

The members of that party assert boldly, however, that their policy has a distinct value and their tactics are accomplishing what they set out for—national suffrage. That cannot now be doubted with the political situation. With but one vote lacking in the Senate necessary for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, and the President's conversion from being its opponent—surely recognition of its methods must be acknowledged.—Wilmington, Del. Journal, Dec. 21, 1918.

The Home Fires Burn On

SUFFRAGISTS announce they will burn the speeches of President Wilson abroad as fast as delivered. Some musical director will get in bad over there by playing "Keep the Home Fires Burning."—Detroit, Mich., News, January 3, 1919.

The Watchfire Sentinels

IT is not necessary to approve of the "watch fire" demonstrations of the National Woman's Party in Washington in order to disapprove most thoroughly of the conduct of a mob, made up largely, it is said, of soldiers and sailors, which attacked "watch fire" sentinels, tore up their banners, put out their fires, handled them roughly and created a scene in the capital of the nation which reflected no credit upon any of the participants.—Minneapolis Tribune, January 3, 1919.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall

Bank of Deposit, American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO $500,000.00 FUND FOR PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

COLLECTIONS FROM DECEMBER, 1912

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Mr. L. H. Gosserand	1.50
Mr. R. Krause	1.50
Mrs. Lillian Midena	10.00
Miss Vivian Pierce	5.00
Collection	23.26
Anonymous, N. H.	300.00
Syracuse Branch	500.00
Anonymous, D. C.	20.00
Mrs. Lucetia M. B. Mitchell, Pa.	5.00
Mr. Maximilian M. Goldberg, Ohio	10.00

Miss Anita L. Bulmer, N. Y.	1.00
Mrs. Harvey Wiley, D. C.	10.00
Mrs. S. T. Peters, N. Y.	100.00
Miss Emma L. Maddison, Cal.	5.00
Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, N. Y.	500.00
Mrs. Henry Phipps, N. Y.	100.00
Mr. David Shapiro, N. Y.	100.00
Mrs. A. M. Greene, N. Y.	5.00
Miss Mabel Hale, N. Y.	3.00
Miss Elizabeth Bartow, N. Y.	5.00
Mrs. Agatha Kress, N. Y.	50.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, N.Y.	483.02
Mrs. M. Morgenthau, Jr. N.Y.	25.00
Miss Ruth Wellington, N. Y.	10.00
E. T. K., Cal.	500.00
Mrs. Alfred S. Rossin, N. Y	250.00
Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, N. Y.	250.00
Michigan Branch	100.00
Miss Sheldon Jackson D. C.	200.00
Miss Elizabeth Geary, D. C.	5.00
Miss H. Sheahan	1.00
Miss Mary E. Hawley, Ill.	5.00
Indianapolis Branch	7.00
Membership Fees	10.25
Sale of Tickets	96.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	5,207.89
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	391,794.15
Total collected by National Headquarters through Feb. 6, 1919	397,002.04

Contributions made to South Carolina Headquarters:

Mrs. John White	1.00
Mrs. Marie Richardson	1.00
Mrs. Frederick Crowell	3.00
Mrs. Frederick Ewbank	1.00
Mrs. Ethel McPherson	1.00
Mrs. Lawrence Patterson	1.00
Miss Marie Minshall	2.00
Miss Elizabeth Perry	1.00
Mrs. John Lee	1.00
Mrs. Wm. P. Vaughan	3.00
Miss Wathen Strong	5.00
Miss Mattie Lou Johnson	1.00
Mrs. C. F. Dill	5.00
Mrs. George Sirrine	1.00
Miss Mabel Drabble	2.00
Mrs. Chester Goodyear	1.00
Mrs. Eugene Dabbs	1.00

Contributions made to Michigan Headquarters:

Mrs. Frances G. Boynton	5.00
Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards	5.00
Miss Geraldin Shuhan	10.00
Total collected by Branches	51.00
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	74,930.40
Total collected by Branches through Feb. 6, 1919	74,981.40
Grand Total	471,983.44
Deduction: Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,433.50
Grand Net Total	$467,549.94

PERSONS SECURING SUFFRAGIST SUBSCRIPTIONS THROUGH FEBRUARY 14.

Miss Berry Pottier	1
South Carolina Branch	1
Mrs. George G. Scott	4
Florence H. Dock	1
Mrs. H. M. Missimer	1
Mrs. W. W. Shay	1
Miss Katherine Morey	1
Mrs. Stephen Chase	1
Miss Eleanor Calnan	1
Mrs. Elizabeth J. Sherman	2
Miss Elizabeth Kalb	1
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe	9
Miss Ruth Small	3
Miss Alice Paul	2
Massachusetts Branch	1
Miss Jane Bliss Potter	1
Miss Kate Heffelfinger	1
Miss Amy Juengling	1
Miss Grace Henshaw	1
Mrs. Emily H. Bright	2
Miss Vivian Pierce	1
Miss Catherine M. Flanagan	1
Miss Edith Ainge	3
Mrs. Sarah J. Paine	1
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins	2
Miss Clara Louise Rowe	10
Mrs. Dorothy Earle	1
Miss Rebecca Hourwich	8
Miss Berthe Arnold	3
Miss Betty Gram	3
Mrs. Phoebe C. Munnecke	6
Miss Ella Riegel	3
Miss Mary E. Dubrow	2
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey	1
Miss Joy Young	1
Total	82

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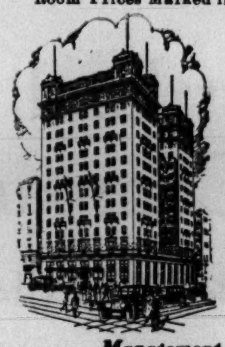
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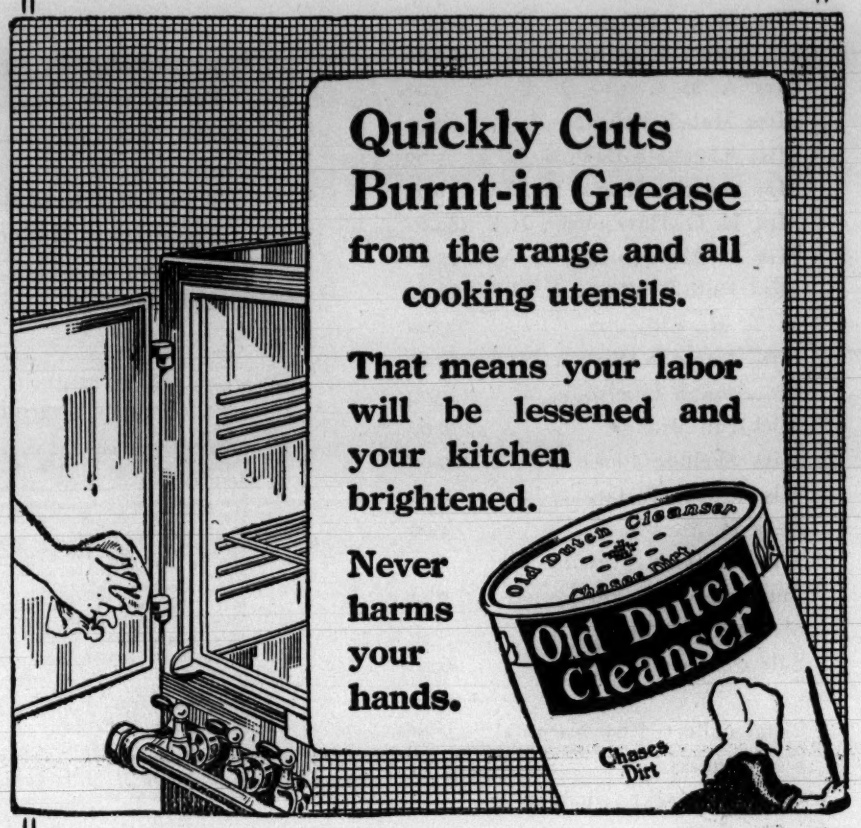

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